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ORGANIZATION AND OPERATIONS OF THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT

1. The Indonesian government, from its inception in 1945, has been in great part a study in improvisation. This improvisation is, however, partially determined by a general structure of legality and a respect for legal forms.

Constitution

2. The present basis of government is the "1945 constitution," a hastily written and provisional document prepared immediately prior to Indonesia's declaration of independence to support an emergency government. It was set aside in 1950 but reinvoked at Sukarno's orders in 1959 to justify his imposition of "guided democracy" and his assumption of virtually unchallenged power.

3. The constitution contains only a skeletal description of Indonesian government bodies. It provides for a strong executive empowered with both legislative and judicial functions and imposes few formal restraints on executive powers. It calls for a president, a presidential cabinet, a parliament (DPRGR) which shares legislative and veto power with the president, and a congress (MPRS) which sets the "guidelines of national policy" and elects the president and vice president for five-year terms.

4. In the post-coup period, a rallying cry of moderate political forces was the "return" to the 1945 constitution. This slogan apparently connoted the termination of Sukarno's one-man rule and the establishment in some measure of a "rule of law" which would prevent another personal dictatorship.

5. To this end, the new regime has sought to revive the institutions required by the constitution and to permit them to carry out their constitutional functions. It

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is also carefully retaining the sweeping executive authority provided by the 1945 document.

The Executive

6. There is in Indonesia today a lop-sided executive dualism. General Suharto, who heads the cabinet, has--in terms of power--largely displaced President Sukarno. Suharto's authority is legally based in a presidential mandate of 11 March 1966 which authorized Suharto to take all steps necessary to improve the security situation, to save the revolution, and to protect Sukarno. In June 1966, the MPRS raised this mandate to the status of an MPRS decree and declared it in accord with the 1945 constitution. Suharto is to retain this authority until a new congress is elected sometime before July 1968. Suharto's practical power, of course, also rests in his position as commander of the army.

7. Sukarno, however, remains the legal president of Indonesia and, with the MPRS, is technically the highest point of appeal in the nation. He continues to sign bills, meets the cabinet presidium, and presides at various government meetings. His power to influence present government policy and operations, although relatively slight, is obstructive and has been permitted to retard the government's program. The extent of his influence depends more on the individuals with whom he deals than on the legality of his position.

8. Suharto can use his "11 March powers" at any time to overrule the president but he does not choose to do so.

The Cabinet

9. The cabinet is composed of a five-man presidium of "first ministers" who supervise the twenty-four ministers who actually hold the portfolios. The five areas of presidium responsibility are defense and security; political affairs; economics and finance; people's welfare; and industry and development. Under each of the 24 ministers are several directors general (formerly titled deputy ministers) who have substantive and policy functions and who report directly to the minister; under each minister is

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also a secretary general, essentially an administrative coordinator who handles paper flow and sees that deadlines are met.

10. Most policy matters appear to be discussed within the presidium, and apparently few plenary cabinet meetings are held. Problems relating to specific ministries seem to be discussed by the minister with the appropriate presidium member. Difficult problems apparently are referred to the presidium or to Suharto himself.

Suharto and Malik

11. The two outstanding leaders of Indonesian officialdom are General Suharto and Adam Malik.

12. Suharto is clearly the first man in Indonesia today. Aside from being officially vested with the "11 March powers" he is chairman of the Presidium, First Minister for Defense and Security, and Minister/Commander of the Army. Should President Sukarno be unable to fulfill his duties, the MPRS has decreed that Suharto should hold the post of acting president.

13. Augmenting Suharto's cabinet and army headquarters staffs are an economic committee composed of specialists from the University of Indonesia and an unofficial "kitchen cabinet" composed of at least seven generals. Two of the generals hold actual cabinet portfolios; the others are from the army headquarters staff. Mashuri, the Director General for Higher Education, is said to be Suharto's most important civilian adviser on matters other than economic or military. He is a close friend and long-time neighbor.

14. Adam Malik is First Minister for Political Affairs and Minister for Foreign Affairs, and supervises the ministries of Home Affairs, Justice, and Information. Malik is one of the few individuals in the government who can deal effectively with Sukarno face-to-face and has been a strong force in devising and implementing strategy to downgrade the president.

15. Malik has no significant political base. His strength lies in his personal reputation and the confidence that General Suharto and the army generally repose in him. In this respect, his lack of a power base is an asset since it relieves him of a following that would require political accommodation and thereby makes him no political threat to army leaders.

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16. The Sultan of Jogjakarta, who as First Minister for Economics and Finance is also a presidium member, earlier was linked with Suharto and Malik as one of a triumvirate which governed the nation. Although the Sultan retains great respect and prestige, particularly in Java, he is gradually assuming the role of an important and necessary background figure rather than that of a leader.

Congress (MPRS)

17. According to the constitution, the People's Congress "enacts the constitution and decides the outlines of national policy." Its members are chosen "in accordance with provisions prescribed by law." It assembles at least once every five years and elects the president and vice president.

18. Present members were appointed, some of them six years ago by Sukarno, others last year by General Suharto after the membership was purged to eliminate Communists and leftists. As of May 1966, the MPRS had 541 members.

19. The new regime called the MPRS into session last June to recast Indonesian domestic and foreign policy. With careful guidance from Suharto and his various assistants, the MPRS revoked Sukarno's life presidency but reaffirmed his tenure until the next congressional elections; established a special committee to review presidential decrees and to determine which are constitutional; reaffirmed General Suharto's executive powers; confirmed the March ban on the Communist Party and outlawed the propagation of "Communism/Marxism/Leninism in every form;" authorized the renovation of economic policy; decreed that a new cabinet be formed; decreed that elections be held no later than July 1968; recommended a free and active foreign policy and re-entry into the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund; and welcomed "all steps" to solve the Malaysia problem "by peaceful means."

20. The MPRS then adjourned and left to parliament and the cabinet the spelling out and implementation of policy.

21. The regime is considering calling an emergency session of the MPRS in the next few months which would either vote Sukarno out of office or find some other means of nullifying his influence.

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Parliament or Council of Representatives (DPRGR)

22. Parliament is Indonesia's legislative body. Its members also have a policy-making role because parliament, as a body, comprises part of the membership of the MPRS.

23. Like the MPRS, the present parliament is an appointed body. Some of its members were appointed by Sukarno in 1960; others are replacements for those purged by the new regime and were appointed by General Suharto. As of September 1966, parliament had 240 members.

24. Despite the membership purge and appointment of presumably more reliable members, General Suharto considers parliament an undependable body. He is considering the appointment of approximately 110 new members in order to ensure the enactment of the government's program.

The Army

25. The Indonesian army is the principal political power in Indonesia. Aside from the constitutionally prescribed government structure, the army hierarchy provides a bureaucracy which sometimes operates independently, sometimes is coordinated with or infiltrated into organs that were once largely civilian.

26. General Suharto heads the cabinet; army officers hold six of the twenty-four cabinet portfolios; and army personnel have been assigned to both parliament and congress. Army officers are governors of 14 of Indonesia's 25 provinces.

Supreme Operations Command (KOTI)

27. Among the numerous commands and committees which populate the Indonesian government structure, the most significant probably is the Supreme Operations Command (KOTI). Initially it was the ultimate organization for the prosecution of Malaysian confrontation, but its responsibilities have spilled over into various domestic political and economic areas.

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27. It has experienced a number of reorganizations, the latest in November 1966, and its present responsibilities are somewhat imprecise. Sukarno is its titular chief, and Suharto is chief of staff. The cabinet presidium serves in an advisory capacity. It seems likely that KOTI will remain an instrument through which the army will reinforce its national and provincial control and extend its functions into various economic and political activities.

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